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THE TWO GREAT WARS OF AMERICA

By

Horace James

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ORATION

DELIVERED IN

NEWBERN, NORTH CAROLINA,

BEFORE THE

TWENTY-FIFTH REGIMENT

MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS,

JULY 4, 1862.

BY

Rev. HORACE JAMES, Chaplain.

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25th Regiment Mass. Volunteers,
Newbern, N. C., July 4th, 1862.

Rev. Horace James, Chaplain 25th Mass. Volunteers.

Dear Sir: — The undersigned had the pleasure, on this our National Anniversary, of hearing an address delivered by you before the Regiment, and Citizens of Newbern.

We are induced by a desire to refer again to the principles therein taught — to its elevated tone and pure patriotism — to the peculiarities of our surroundings while sustaining by force of arms the doctrines of the "Declaration" among those who, bound equally with us in solemn compact, are with traitorous hands striving to despoil the heritage bequeathed by our fathers, and build upon its ruins a government for personal aggrandizement, and to perpetuate injustice and oppression; — in behalf of ourselves and friends, to request a copy of the Address for publication.

We are, very respectfully yours,

A. B. R. Sprague,	Lieut.-Col.	25th	Reg't	Mass.	Vol.
Josiah Pickett,	Major	"	"	"	"
E. A. Harkness,	Adjutant	"	"	"	"
Wm. O. Brown,	Quartermaster	"	"	"	"
O. Moulton,	Captain	"	"	"	"
C. G. Attwood,	"	"	"	"	"
J. W. Denny,	"	"	"	"	"
Thomas O'Niel,	"	"	"	"	"
Louis Wagely,	"	"	"	"	"
F. E. Goodwin,	"	"	"	"	"
William Emery,	"	"	"	"	"
James Tucker,	Lieut.	"	"	"	"
William F. Draper,	"	"	"	"	"
Henry McConville,	"	"	"	"	"
William Daley,	"	"	"	"	"
Levi Lawrence,	"	"	"	"	"
N. H. Foster,	"	"	"	"	"
Arthur P. Forbes,	"	"	"	"	"
M. B. Bessey,	"	"	"	"	"
J. B. Smith,	"	"	"	"	"
John W. Davis,	"	"	"	"	"

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NEWBERN, N. C., July 4th, 1862.

GENTLEMEN :

Your request is cheerfully granted. Irrespective of any merit in the Address, which must needs be small under the circumstances, it may be, in a printed form, a pleasant memento to the soldiers of this Regiment, and to their friends. Not often has it happened to New England men to celebrate our national anniversary upon soil recovered from insurrection by the Union arms.

Being unwilling that the occasion should pass by without appropriate observances, the 25th did what they could, by public oration and evening illuminations, to reproduce the impressions of other years, and make the day memorable. In obedience to your wishes, grateful for the terms in which they are expressed, the accompanying manuscript is submitted to you, and respectfully dedicated to the 25th Mass. Regiment, by their true and faithful friend,

THE CHAPLAIN.

To

Lieut.-Col. A. B. R. SPRAGUE,
Major JOSIAH PICKETT,
Adj't. E. A. HARKNESS,
Quartermaster WM. O. BROWN,
Capt. O. MOULTON,
" C. G. ATTWOOD,
" J. W. DENNY,
" THOMAS O'NEIL,
" LOUIS WAGELY,
" F. E. GOODWIN,
" WILLIAM EMERY,
Lieut. JAMES TUCKER,
" WM. F. DRAPER,
" HENRY MCCONVILLE,
" WILLIAM DALEY,
" LEVI LAWRENCE,
" N. H. FOSTER,
" ARTHUR P. FORBES,
" M. B. BESSEY,
" J. B. SMITH,
" JOHN W. DAVIS.

ORATION.

FRIENDS, FELLOW-CITIZENS, AND SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES: —

I BID you welcome to the festivities of this hour. With emotions of profound gratitude to God, the Author of liberty and Arbiter of destiny, we celebrate another birth-day of the GREAT AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

Looking reverently and affectionately upon her face, yet fair and fresh in national youth, we seem to hear her exclaim in the words of one of her gifted sons, "*I still live!*" aye, though rent with faction, burdened with debt, involved in war, her plains whitened with military encampments, her very soil furrowed with shot and dank with human gore, while treason is still unsubdued and defiant over a portion of her domain; she doth lift up her voice with strength, and summon her children, in prouder, clearer tones than ever, to assemble together and kneel with patriotic devotion around her altar.

From our hearts we obey; for we love our country, and because of that love for her we are here. We are the constituted guardians of her honor. We bear with us the assurance of her integrity, and are appointed to

see that she receives no detriment. We recognize no South, no North, no West, no East, as a separate interest. We know nothing but our Country, however bounded, by whomsoever governed; our Country one and inseparable; our Country guided by the great principles of liberty and law, which were inwrought by skillful hands into her admirable constitution, which have shaped her institutions, inspired her struggles, and are to be still more grandly illustrated in her future history.

We meet to-day upon soil reclaimed to the Union by our victorious arms, in a city where one year ago there was no public recognition of our nation's independence, where no peal of bells or salvo of cannon ushered in the festal morning; but a wretched cluster of waning meteors and three dismal bars disgraced the heavens, and a misguided people and an army in open rebellion against the government, contemptuously derided the dignity and sovereignty of the United States.

Thank God! the Old Flag flutters again in the breeze along these shores and waters. In every one of the thirty-four States the "star spangled banner" floats proudly to-day. The work of recovery goes bravely on. A series of brilliant successes by land and water is just about to culminate in a battle before the rebel capitol, which will decide the fate of the southern "Confederacy," and virtually end this wicked war.

So we hope. Meanwhile, summoned at such a time as this to the consideration of our country's interests and dangers, may we not appropriately review the great Rebellion and War now upon our hands, and compare it

with the former or revolutionary struggle of 1776, in respect to its ORIGIN, CHARACTERISTICS, AND PROBABLE RESULTS? My plan of thought, on the present occasion, will lead in this direction.

The wars of 1776 and 1861 are entitled to be called the *two great Wars of America.* In respect to the magnitude of the interests involved, the numerical strength of the forces engaged, and their absorbing power over the public mind and heart, no other struggles that have occurred in this hemisphere are equal to them. One of them is finished, and has passed into history. The other is incomplete as yet. It has, however, sufficiently revealed its character to convince all reflecting men that its influence will continue long after its scenes have transpired, and be an important element in the solution of great social questions, affecting the interests of mankind.

In these two struggles the belligerents have belonged to *the same race*—Anglo-Saxons fought against Anglo-Saxons in the last century, and the same is true now. We are said to be engaged in "*a civil war,*" and in a very senseless manner some have rung the changes upon the barbarity and wickedness of such a war. So was the war of '76 a civil war. It was one of brother against brother, and sire against son. The British realm and its trans-Atlantic colonies were but one household. Yet Englishmen were not then affected with holy horror in view of its being a fratricidal strife. The truth is that "a civil war" may be as justifiable and as necessary as a foreign war. The moral quality of such a strife cannot be decided by questions of race and descent.

Both these wars *commenced in rebellion.* The patriot of the revolution was no less a "rebel" than the secessionist of the present day. Those who for any reason throw off the obligations of allegiance to the supreme power, are "rebels" in the eye of the law. Whether they shall *continue* to be branded with this epithet depends partly upon the justice of their cause, but more upon their *success.* Rebellion in its early stages is treason; after its firm establishment in power it is patriotism and glory. The rebellion of '76 passed on triumphantly to the latter stage. That of '61 seems unlikely to do so. Unsupported by the recognition of a single member of the family of nations, and giving but doubtful evidence of ability to maintain itself anywhere, it leads as yet the life of a vagabond, its Ishmaelitish hand against every man and every man's hand against it. Whether it shall enjoy any honorable history, or stand upon the record as anything more than a monstrous political apostacy of immense pretensions, but of proven impotence, remains to be seen, and will be speedily determined. It must work out its own salvation, and make its anniversary a nation's gala day, as the first great rebellion has done, or else sink, an execrated thing, beneath the world's notice and contempt. There is no intermediate state for it between a political heaven or hell.

A resemblance between these two wars is perceivable in the *variety of individual opinion* which prevails respecting them. In the era of 1776, there were conservative and radical men, extremists on both sides of the agitating questions of that day, as we see it to be now. This must

continue to be the case so long as men are born with varying temperaments, and educated to varying tastes. That the community should be divided into upholders of the American Union and seceders from it, is perhaps no more strange than that there should have been "whigs" and "tories" in the revolutionary war. In every State there are secret sympathizers with the enemy. We may expect that Union principles will spring up in the steps of our victorious armies. They will not declare themselves to any extent except under the gleam of our bayonets and the protection of our flag. Upon their spontaneous utterance we cannot depend. As little can we depend upon the patriotism of a small party in the loyal States, the moment that any reverse is experienced by the national arms. There is even a little clique in the Congress at Washington, contemptible indeed in numbers, but unscrupulous, artful, practiced in debate and in legislative strategy, represented by an Ohio member of ineffable name, who show clearly enough by all their votes and speeches that they would establish the Southern Confederacy if they had the power to do it with impunity. They are traitors to the Constitution and as worthy of political punishment as the tories of the old revolution.

Selfishness, alas! in the forms of personal ambition, and the cursed greed of gain, are found hanging like vampyres upon the throat of the best enterprises, sucking the life-blood of the nation, and outraging the moral sentiment of mankind. Patrick Henry gave such men the benefit of his keen satire in the old war. Washing-

ton felt indignant at their baseness; but the degenerate race survives. Wolves in sheep's clothing, wretches who can pierce their country to the heart under the guise of friendship, who can assume the livery of the court of heaven to serve the devil in, base enough to make merchandise of a distressed and perplexed nation, to grow rich upon contracts that have defrauded a too-confiding government, and imperilled her most important military movements. The curse of heaven rest upon their ill-gotten stores! the profits of their shoddy cloth and their rotten meat! May their riches become corrupted, their garments be moth-eaten, and the hard earnings of the common soldier which they have taken away by fraud, cry out against them before offended heaven.

In refreshing contrast with the acts of mercenary contractors and jobbers who have been developed in such large numbers during this contest, is the *self-denying spirit*, and *cheerful endurance of suffering* which have to such an extent characterized this war. It falls not behind the old revolutionary struggle in respect to these high qualities. On both sides men with families have left their happy peaceful homes, at short notice, uttered a hurried farewell as they kissed away the falling tears, and departed to the seat of war, not knowing, not once thinking, whether they should ever return. Exile has been cheerfully borne, the privations of the camp, the dangers of the field, the discomforts of the hospital. On both sides these have been endured, in many cases by those who suffered deservedly, but with a heroism worthy of a better cause; all tending to show that the

self-sacrificing spirit of the revolutionary heroes is still extant in their descendants. The race of patriots is not extinct. By tens and hundreds of thousands they may be enumerated among the officers and enlisted volunteers of the Union army; and in large numbers, I doubt not, among the rank and file of the Confederate forces. We will not claim that all the personal virtue, as well as the justice of the war, is on our side. Among those arrayed against us, and against their country, are many doubtless, who with mistaken zeal think themselves doing God service. Their treason is the result of a defective education, of degrading social institutions, and a blind confidence in *leaders* who are basely and with lying lips misleading them to their ruin. It is one of the wicked things of this war that so many men with honest intentions are fighting under a misapprehension of the facts; fighting bravely, but with a lie in their right hands. A terrible responsibility rests upon the souls of those few men who have plunged them into this strife, and by pertinacious and unblushing mendacity are still nurturing within them a hostile spirit. Let but a few hundreds of ambitious demagogues at the South be slain or hanged, let that oligarchy of non-producing aristocrats that have taught the South to hate the North, that have made labor despicable, and viewed our mechanism as an ignominy and a degradation; let these few rich slaveholders, in short, who have shrewdly managed to usurp and wield the power of these States, and of the General Government as well; — let but these uneasy plotters of sedition be somehow disposed of, and

their influence neutralized, and the masses of the people North and South, East and West, would rush into each other's arms, would flow together like water; and when they had done so, the very floods would clap their hands!

There are several points of *striking unlikeness* between the rebellion of 1776, which resulted in the American Union, and the rebellion of 1861, whose precise destiny has not yet been reached. It may better illustrate the spirit of each of them to present these points briefly in vivid contrast.

They were greatly dissimilar in respect to their *statement of justifying causes.* No political document that was ever penned has echoed around the world more sublimely than the Declaration of American Independence. Its very words are hallowed and classic to the lover of political liberty, as they fall so clearly, so convincingly upon the ear. The cause must needs prevail that was thus supported by facts, by arguments, by appeals to the common sense and sound judgment of mankind. That Declaration alone was worth to the patriot cause an army of one hundred thousand men. The people that could so express their grievances and their rights as they stood at the world's judgment bar, were and of right ought to be, a free and independent people. The government that had so abused them had forfeited all claim to exercise authority over them.

Examine now the annals of the seceded States and of the so-called Confederate Government, and what is their statement of justifying causes for the steps they have taken? I admit the abstract right of revolution.

But the reasons must be good and sufficient, and the statement of them must be clear and distinct. For any such statement in justification of the present rebellion we look in vain. The real reasons which prompted it are artfully concealed, and those openly rendered are indefinite and unworthy. We find in them no lack of appeals to heaven to witness their sincerity, such as a devout Arab might make who intended to commit robbery the next hour; but we fail to find in them any appeal which is adapted to convince the sound judgment of mankind. They have jumbled together a verbose and specious justification of their course, in which imagination is largely drawn upon to supply the lack of facts, and upon such a flimsy platform they have concluded to go before the world. Their declaration has convinced no one, for it declared nothing, and done them no good, for it had no force. Bearing a faint resemblance in form to the famous document of Thomas Jefferson, it is so devoid of any spirit kindred to it, as to attract no observation from any quarter.

Totally unlike, also, have been these two movements in their *pervading principle and spirit.* Our fathers strove for simple liberty. Resistance to oppression, not fancied, but real and persistent, was the one impulse that animated them. They had no wish, at first, for separation from the mother country, and no lofty aspirations for power. Had their just demands been acceded to, the American Revolution might have been postponed until now, and the British throne be still the center of our allegiance. But taxes without representation, the Boston Port Bill, the

Stamp Act, and other outrageous feats of legislation, together with the intolerable insolence of royal governors from Hutchinson of Massachusetts, to Tryon of North Carolina, were more than they could bear. And when their cup of oppression was full, they thrust it indignantly from them and dashed it to the ground.

What is the animating principle of the present rebellion? I hesitate not to pronounce it the *lust of dominion.* The Southern States were willing to remain connected with the Union so long as they could rule it. By their superior political tactics, and by taking advantage of divided and nearly balanced parties at the North, they have had control of the General Government through most of its administrations, having placed either Southern men, or Northern men with Southern principles, in the executive chair. Thus have the few contrived to outwit the many, and an oligarchy has long governed the country through the forms of republicanism. It was not until this scepter was seen to be departing, in the election of a Northern President, uncommitted to the support of their peculiar institutions, that a remedy for this loss of power was discovered in *secession.* If they could no longer rule, they determined to ruin the government of their fathers, and set up another which should be wholly their own. So long had they been "masters of the situation," that they could brook no change, even though it came in a regular way, and gave the Northern States no particle of power or influence that was not rightly theirs by the Constitution. That instrument had been kept by them inviolate. Contrary

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to their own moral convictions, the Northern people had held to the original bond, and even permitted a Southern interpretation of that instrument to prevail, merely for the sake of peace. But the Southern oligarchy, accustomed to rule, had pressed their demands so boldly and so far that the North could endure it no longer. So they elected for once a President of the majority, and said to the minority, "It is now your duty to yield." This is the head and front of their offending. Yet for this cause they have passed the ordinance of secession. For this cause they have inaugurated a new revolution. For this cause they fired upon Fort Sumter; for this cause they have already shed the blood of thirty thousand freemen.

And in this respect, in the two contests, the facts appear to be reversed. The weaker party are now the oppressors, and lofty pretenders to power and place. Eight millions are attempting to lord it over twenty millions. The Secessionists of the present day, are the British of the past, and hence their English proclivities are easy to be accounted for. The North is now where the struggling colonies were in the olden time, doing battle for liberty against oppression, for democracy against aristocracy, for *right* against organized, pampered, overbearing, irascible *wrong*. As the foreign foe in those days looked with contempt upon the raw, undisciplined troops of the colonists, and insultingly dared them to mortal combat, so have the haughty Southrons looked upon the people of the commercial North, and deemed them, with all their wealth and resources, only

the mud-sills of society, an inferior people, a cowardly horde, who would be scattered like chaff whenever they should draw their puissant swords. Not the least resemblance can we discover, in spirit or principle, between our revolutionary fathers and the revolutionists of this day. Even if the latter should be successful as the former were, they would establish that tyranny which the others attempted to destroy, and destroy forever that noble fabric of freedom which the others erected with consummate wisdom, and cemented with their blood.

Not more unlike have been these two rebellions in the spirit that animated them, than *in the previous preparation that was made* for them. Our early patriots were found totally destitute of the materials for carrying on a great war. A conflict at arms had not entered into their calculations, and a state of actual hostility found them but poorly provided with all the needful munitions and stores. They rushed into the earlier engagements with their rusty fowling-pieces and their home-made powder-horns. In the battle of Bunker Hill, in which the enemy confessed a loss of one thousand and fifty-four men out of two thousand engaged, the scanty allowance of each of our soldiers was only a gill of powder, two flints, and fifteen balls not made into cartridges. The patriot army was fed, armed, and paid only by the superhuman exertions of Washington and his associates, in the face of overwhelming difficulties, with neither means nor credit at command, and with absolutely nothing previously provided.

Not so the rebellion of 1861. This jumped into being fat and flourishing from the hoarded savings of I know not how many years. Its leading spirits, fed at the public tables, transacting the public business, living with their hands in the public treasury, had been carefully laying for a long time the train that was to be exploded at a fitting moment, and do the work of a generation in an hour. While the country, busy and confiding, pursued its career of prosperity, never dreaming of danger, *Toucey* was sending the ships of the navy on useless expeditions to the ends of the earth, *Floyd* was stealing guns from all the Northern arsenals, and amassing them at various points in the South, *Cobb* was tampering with the credit of the United States, and bringing its fiscal affairs into a state of utter confusion. Parties in the interest of the divisive movement, and acting under secret instructions, were moving in all directions with intense activity, doing everything possible to bind the hands and weaken the power of the General Government, and to make everything ready so that their warlike confederacy might leap into being, Minerva-like and fully armed, from the head of the old Republic, and deal at her birth, a death-blow to her sire. Thus have the rebels of the seceded States been plotting, preparing, amassing, and dividing the spoils, robbing, plundering, and stealing, through the connivance or sympathy of their Northern abettors, until it came near to proving the utter destruction of the American State. One cannot contemplate this particular chapter of our nation's history without

an involuntary shudder. We were on the brink of ruin. Our capitol was almost in the hands of an armed enemy; and for a few weeks the great republic, paralyzed and powerless, had only a name to live! It becomes us to acknowledge, at this happy hour, with profound gratitude to God, the special providential care which guided us through that dark period, and delivered the nation from those perjured and malignant men. Nothing but their execution upon the gallows will ever atone for their crimes. May the memory of them perish from the earth!

As the two contests I have named differed so essentially in respect to previous preparation, it was to be expected that they would differ also in *fortunes of the field.* And so indeed it occurred. The earlier experiences of the revolutionary patriots were defeats. As the war progressed, and the resources of the colonial army were increased, victory began to perch upon their standards. But the confederate cause, of late afflicted with defeat upon defeat, in one long and almost unbroken series, commenced with successes. The army of tyranny in each case advanced strong and defiant in the beginning. But they did their best in the first impulsive onset. The forces of freedom were amassed more slowly, but when once trained in the field, and arrayed for the strife, their cool, determined progress swept all before them. A causeless rebellion, though prospered at the start, must expire in disgrace. But the forces that contend for liberty and law, though worsted, it may be, in the first

assault, will return with increased strength and confidence to the fight, until they proudly survey the field as conquerors.

The two great struggles which we are attempting to compare, have had but little resemblance to one another in *the number of troops engaged* in them. Then our whole population was three millions, now it may be thirty-three millions. Then we might have had an army of fifty thousand; now it exceeds five hundred thousand. The decisive actions of Saratoga and Yorktown in the American revolution, look puny beside the battles of Manassas, Shiloh, Fair Oaks, and Richmond.

The *expenses incurred* furnish another item of striking comparison. Six years of warfare with Great Britain did not equal, I think, the expenses of a single year of war for the Union. But then we had no navy, no river or harbor defences, no iron-clads nor Monitors. Our fathers crept timidly along according to the then prevalent modes of warfare, and were as ignorant of a rifled cannon, or a balloon reconnoissance, and indeed of a telegraphic message, a steam transport, a railroad supply train, a rubber blanket, a percussion cap, or a Minie ball, as were the old Romans of gunpowder and daily papers. The difference of the two eras, in celerity of movements and brilliancy of exploits, by reason of the great inventions and improvements of modern science, is immense, and to us scarcely conceivable. True indeed, river piles, chevaux de frise, torpedoes, and infernal machines, do not always stop the progress of invading fleets and armies, as

our own experience testifies; but the appliances of science and skill, when rightly and promptly employed, offer an immense advantage in the prosecution of war, not less indeed than in the pursuits of peace.

What will be the effect of this conflict in developing *character*, and raising up *great men*, remains to be proved. After the former struggle had ceased, we were enabled to gaze reverentially upon a band of heroes, such as the world had never seen. "There were giants in those days." George Washington, John Adams, Patrick Henry, Roger Sherman, John Hancock, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton—what names are these, and such as these! Their pure patriotism, their exalted wisdom, their guiding counsels shaped events for ages. To no set of men since the apostles of Jesus, has so much been committed; of none can it be said that they so faithfully restored their trust. When one looks upon those departed heroes, and is affected with feelings but little short of adoration towards them, he is inclined to ask the question: Will this great national crisis call forth another generation of like minded patriots? When deliverance has come to our whole land, and she shall again enjoy peace with righteousness, shall we be able to encircle with unfading rays the names of our deliverers, and enshrine them with our revolutionary sires, in the national Pantheon? I would fain hope so. This rebellion will furnish its name of infamy to complete the trio of treason and perfidy, so that *Judas*, and *Arnold*, and *Floyd*, may forever sink to their own place in company. Will it not

also add the names of *Ellsworth*, and *Greble*, and *Winthrop*, and *Lyon*, and *Lander*, and *Ellett*, and many others yet living, to the roll of patriots whom the nation will delight to honor! It is, my fellow-citizens, a privilege to live in such a day as this, for it brings immortality within the grasp of every man.

I hasten to inquire, *what are to be the results of this rebellion* and war of 1861 and 1862. I do not claim to be a prophet, with power to foretell events that are as yet concealed among the mysteries of Providence; but will speak of results as in my own view they ought to take place, provided this wretched insurrection shall be every where effectually checked and suppressed. And among them will be, first and foremost, A UNION RESTORED, ESTABLISHED, AND PURIFIED. I say restored. No soldier in the army, or in the navy of the United States, and no loyal citizen at home, is willing to accept anything short of a union perfectly restored. Not one square foot of its territory can be given up, even if it were upon the plains of Deseret, or among the dreary sands of Hatteras. The principle of dismemberment cannot be allowed for a moment. The great rivers and mountain chains of North America, with their system of valleys and streams, are adapted to one and only one people. Secession is a violation of the physical laws impressed upon the face of this continent, as well as of the fundamental laws of the republic. As a doctrine, it must perish in infancy, and sleep in the grave never to rise again. All the territory now under insurrectionary rule must be restored,

till there is seen but one national flag, one capitol, one currency, one congress, and one executive, and all the machinery of the confederate government, with its executive officers and their unfinished projects are swept into oblivion. As sure as there is a sun in the heavens, our conquering armies will not furl their banners nor sheathe their swords, until the union of North American States is perfectly restored from the gulf to the lakes, and from sea to sea.

And when restored it must be *established.* Not set up like Dagon to fall upon its face again, but planted so deeply that no tempest of passion can prostrate it, no lightnings rive its root, no floods undermine its deep foundations. This must be the last experiment of the kind. Secession is too expensive a luxury to enjoy a second time. When our government has reasserted and established its sway over the whole land, it must stand strong as the pillars of Hercules, no element of weakness being left in it, no plague spot upon its fair exterior to spread around its foul contagion.

Aye, we aim at a union *purified.* It does not wholly satisfy us that its integrity is to be maintained; we long to see it improved and strengthened in every element that enters into material greatness. Why should our dear republic be exempted from the great law of growth? If it be not altogether perfect yet, in God's name let it go onward to perfection. Why fetter it in its uprising? Why stint and limit an organization so superior; so freighted with sublime possibilities, so well

fitted, as experience shows, to shed a blessed light upon the nations that sit in darkness, and be an element of hope to the world?

There are those who exclaim, "give us the '*union as it was.*'" It was indeed a glorious union *before*, but we want it grander, purer, stronger, every way. After passing through such a baptism of suffering and blood, should it not become possessed of a higher sanctity? God forbid that our national afflictions should fail to be improved, or be the means of hardening us more and more in national guilt and sin. If they should wean us from our selfishness and absorbing greed of gain, if they should purify our public counsels and our private life, if they should promote the growth of mutual good feeling between states and sections, and of kindly courtesies between man and man, if they should bring judgment to the oppressed, and education and ultimate freedom to the enslaved, and cause all classes to value more highly the blessing of a good, paternal, wise administration of government, then should we have occasion to count it all joy that we had fallen upon these evil times, seeing that they had resulted in a bountiful harvest of blessings to the nation and the world.

Who can be so senseless as to ask for a restoration of "the union *as it was?*" Establish it, indeed, with all its previous wealth of beauty and glory, but with as much more as may be possible. Fill it with all the elements of truth and liberty, humanity and benevolence, that can be breathed into it, and this time, if possible, make it immortal.

Nay; I will go farther, and assert that the "union as it was" *is impossible.* A person has had the small pox and has recovered. But his system has undergone a radical change. The marks and scars of the foul contagion are upon him, but his body is no longer susceptible to that loathsome disease. He has not recovered his health "as it was," but is in a sounder condition than before. And when there has been a loathsome eruption upon the body politic, shall the radical evil be left uncured, only *to break out again? No, no;* let us *not* restore "the union as it was," with the same liability to be torn by treason and furrowed with the plowshare of war. Let us not restore to power and activity the same agencies that have proved so injurious heretofore, only to see them produce the same mischievous results again and again. From my heart I pray never to see the union again established *"as it was" just before this rebellion took overt shape,* placed in a condition for another imbecile President to abandon it to its fate; for another perjured Secretary to plunder and rob it, and for another nullifying State to openly insult and contemn its sovereignty. If there be, as we believe there is, one fundamental vice of society in all the rebellious States, which has chiefly tended to nurture this rebellion, and which has continually given it life and excitement, shall we not attempt in some suitable and just manner, to weaken and remove this evil, that it may harm and distract us no longer?

You know to what I refer; and I feel no obligation of

delicacy, leading me to refrain from touching briefly upon the domestic slavery of the seceded States in this connection. They cherish it because it supports that aristocratic social system, which they have deliberately chosen, and are confessedly fighting for. We reject and oppose it, because it is subversive of all business prosperity, is a curse to the State which upholds it, an unspeakable injury to the colored people themselves, and a still greater injury to their masters. And although in our military movements, as such, we have nothing to do with this institution, we are in fact procuring and producing its overthrow. We have not *introduced* the negro into this war. But he is in it, and in every part of it, and can no more be expelled from it than leaven can be removed from the loaf that has begun to ferment. Would that a purified government might escape this annoyance and disturbance in all time to come. Would that one rebellion in the interest of this wretched, wasteful, and worthless system of labor might prove sufficient. Would that all at the South and at the North would examine negro slavery, not with fanatical zeal, but with calm, considerate attention, and agree together to put an end to it by gradual and compensated emancipation, as a harbinger and hostage of our peace, and a blessed deliverance both to the master and the slave.

When this war shall cease, and a settlement be made of the various matters at issue between the two sections, it will come to pass that a *better understanding will prevail between them than ever before.* The South has greatly mis-

understood the North. The few, who, by their social position, give tone to public opinion here, have maliciously belied the North, in order to foster a state of feeling that might lead to a separation. But the intercourse of warfare will do something, and the intercourse of peace yet more, to dispel delusions, to abolish factitious distinctions, and to equalize the social status of the Puritan and the Cavalier. There are those in this army who never will settle again in New England, to reside there permanently, but will enter upon some of these uncultivated tracts of land, do something to develop the neglected resources of this broad section of country, and thus come, with blessings in their hands, to the people of the South. The States now vainly attempting to establish a separate independence, will become truly independent, and truly great, when, giving up their aristocratic notions, they begin to stimulate *free labor*, establish *free schools*, call out the energies of all classes by elevating, rather than depressing them, and *level up* society to a standard of general intelligence and thrift. Herein, and in no other possible course, is to be found their salvation as commonwealths. By this course only can they recover from the terrible prostration resulting from this war. This is the kind of "subjugation" we wish to impose upon them, namely, an exaltation and blessing, a dignity and wealth of civilization, to which they have been heretofore strangers.

I am inclined to take a hopeful view of the future. And in a comparatively short space of time, I seem to see

this shameful political apostasy annihilated, and the whole land consenting, either willingly or unwillingly, to one grand central government. Under the new stimulus imparted to all its industries, by the returning demands of peace, I see every wheel, spindle, and pinion again revolving, and the nation, as a nation, learning war no more. With a considerable standing army, yet maintained to promote the common security and confidence, I behold the multitude of our teeming population going forward to possess the land, and covering with beautiful villages and cities the slopes and hillsides and plains of our goodly domain.

By a system of compensated emancipation in part, and in part by the fortunes of war, I hear liberty proclaimed throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof. Going forward in the steps of a free and Christian civilization, I see my countrymen attaining to a purer, nobler personal life, and thus laying the foundations of national distinction in the beautiful virtues of individual character. I see our government, having survived the shock of war, and having maintained both the form and spirit of a democracy, while other nations in similar circumstances had relapsed into a military despotism, still leading all the governments of Christendom in a grand career of political distinction, still attracting towards herself the admiring gaze of mankind. Having maintained her financial credit in a wonderful manner, in the day of her trial and calamity, and when brow-beaten by transatlantic nations, and threatened

with an intervention which she neither needed nor desired, I see her unfurling her flag of forty or fifty bright stars, before the eyes of France and England, from the masthead of more vessels than their combined navies and mercantile marine can boast, and disputing with her own mother country the title of "mistress of the seas." And as ages roll on, and her population increases, her debt is extinguished, her wealth accumulates, her cities grow numerous, and her churches, asylums, colleges, and schools may be counted by hundreds of thousands, we shall still behold in her unexampled greatness the influence of her present trials, and new evidence of the exceeding goodness of God unto her. May the brazen throats that to-day echo her praises, and the star-spangled banners that stream above her soil, be ever the bulwarks of her liberty, the defenses of her manhood, and the dread of tyrants whether at home or abroad.

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